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#### HAMPSTEAD RATEPAYERS WANT TO KNOW

### Civil Defence: What are we paying for?

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The ratepayers' move followed a town hall meeting on Civil Defence at which indignation was expressed at the refusal of the Council to send an official representative.

The meeting, billed as "Civil Defence in Hampstead: What are we paying for?" heard these results of a public opinion poll on the subject of CD:

**Have you heard of any Hampstead CD activities?**

None, 89 per cent; some, 11 per cent.

**Do you know where your nearest CD post is situated?**

No, 85 per cent; yes, 15 per cent.

**If an H-bomb exploded over Hyde Park do you think the local CD would be able to help you?**

Yes, 34 per cent; no, 35 per cent; uncertain, 31 per cent.

**What would you do if you had 24 hours' notice of a nuclear attack?**

Stay here, 31 per cent; leave London, 39 per cent; await instructions, 8 per cent.

**If you had only 30 minutes warning?**

Stay here, 67 per cent; leave London, 4

Gaitskell and ND candidates—page 8

# 3-NATION TEAM FOR SAHARA

## To halt French A-tests

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"Thousands of people in many countries of the world are no longer willing to stand by and watch while their governments make preparations for the destruction of mankind," they say.

The names of five of the participants, three British, one French and one Indian, were announced by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War this week. They are:

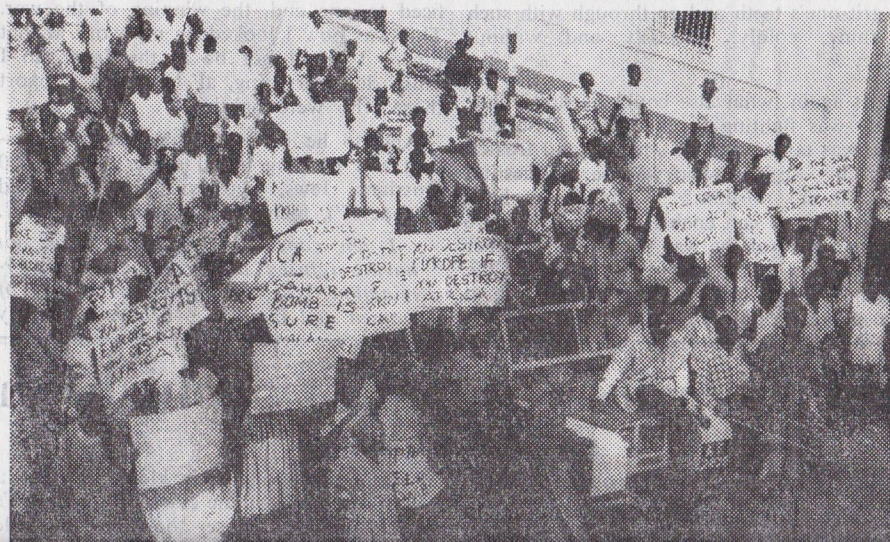
**Michael Scott**, at present at UN as spokesman for the people of S.W. Africa. Age 52. Member of the Direct Action Committee and imprisoned with Michael Randle after Swaffham rocket base demonstration.

**Francis Hoyland**, artist and teacher, who was taken to hospital with eye injuries after the first Swaffham demonstration. Married with two children. Age 29. Son of the late John Hoyland, Quaker peace worker.

**Michael Randle**, 25-year-old chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. Has spent six years as a farm worker. Plays Rugby football for Brighton Town.

**Esther Peters**, 26-year-old French housewife. Lives in Strasbourg, where her husband is a dentist. Has a son aged 4½ years.

**Hemlata Devi**, 40-year-old Indian, married to a Swede, with two children. At present



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**If you had only 30 minutes warning?**

Stay here, 67 per cent; leave London, 4 per cent; go down tube, 7 per cent.

The following were individual comments: "I would pray," "I would try to believe in God," "I would have a drink and then another drink," "Put my head in gas oven," "Try to take it in one's stride." The majority of those who would stay where they were indicated that they considered any form of protection out of the question.

Hampstead Borough Councillor, Mr. Roy Shaw, who was present at the town hall meeting in an unofficial capacity, said that he had asked Hampstead Civil Defence whether protective equipment was held in readiness for use by local CD workers. The answer he was given was "None whatsoever." He was told further that it wasn't necessary as danger from radiation depended on how long one stayed in the affected area.

"This is absolute nonsense," Roy Shaw told the meeting. "Knowing the sort of people we have had in CD do you think they would say 'I've done my half-hour stint, I'm going'? No, they would stay to see the job done. If they have no protective clothing I say this is sentencing them to death."

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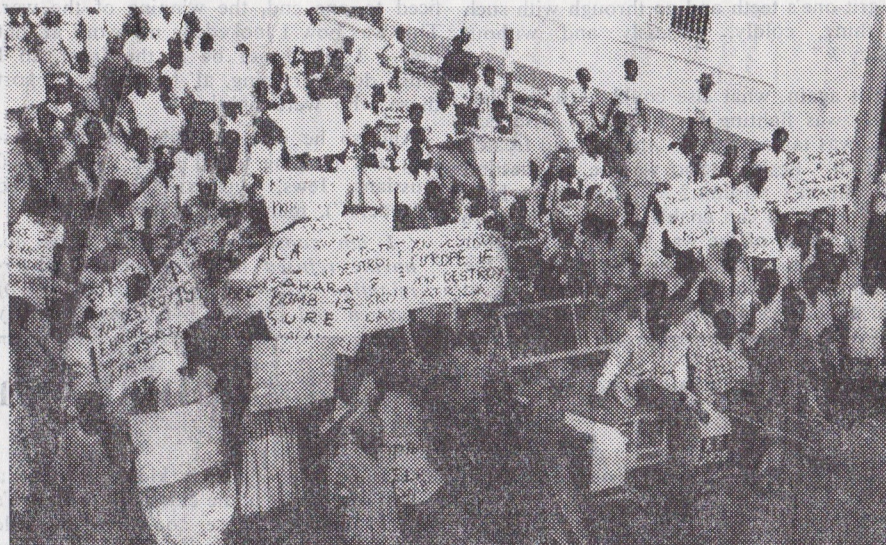
**Hemlata Devi**, 40-year-old Indian, married to a Swede, with two children. At present staying at the Freundschaftsheim, German peace centre at Buckeburg.

The possibility of an American and one or more Africans participating is under active discussion in New York and Accra.

Francis Hoyland and Michael Randle expect to fly from London Airport to Ghana on October 8. They were due to appear at a press conference in London yesterday, Thursday, after Peace News had gone to press.

Earl Russell, Lord Boyd Orr, Dr. Soper and Alex Comfort are among the signatories to an appeal for funds for the project sent to the national press by the Direct Action Committee from their headquarters at 344 Seven Sister Road, London, N.4, last week.

Very heavy expenses will be incurred in carrying out such a project," they write. "We therefore appeal to all those who believe in the necessity of such a protest to make as generous a contribution as they can possibly afford towards the costs of planning it."



A Ghana demonstration against the French tests. Photo Willis Bell

## MORE WOULD DEFY WHIPS

**T**HE number of candidates who are prepared—if elected to Parliament—to defy the Party Whips on the question of nuclear weapons is now ten.

Two Labour and two Liberal, in addition to those listed in last week's Peace News Guide to Candidates, are:

**Mr. J. Marsden** (Lab., Huddersfield), **Mr. D. V. Williams** (Lab., Woking), **D. Ridley** (Lib., Saffron Walden), and **Miss Claire Graham** (Lib., Skipton).

Michael Randle, Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, has been invited to speak in support of Mr. D. Vaughan Williams at a meeting in the constituency.

In a statement made earlier this year Mr. Williams said that he would make unilateral disarmament a major issue in his campaign. "If return to Parliament I would be pre-

emphasise that I want Labour candidates returned to Parliament whatever their views on nuclear disarmament."

Last month Mr. Marsden said:

"I feel the world has gone mad. There is so much constructive work to be done in the world and yet we are spending so much money on weapons of mass destruction.

"I shall always work within the Labour movement to seek an end to this madness. I would go so far as to seek a conscience-clause right to vote against spending any monies on any form of weapons of destruction."

The London Times and the Daily Telegraph last week each gave a half column to the Direct Action Committee's information about candidates opposing nuclear weapons.

Three additions to the list of Labour Party supporters of nuclear disarmament

"Dr Zhivago," Boris Pasternak's panoramic novel of Russian life since the beginning of this century, is to be broadcast in radio adaptation on Mondays, October 18 and 19, on the BBC's Home S-

# THE GOOD SOLDIER HOESS

F. A. Lea reviews

Commandant of Auschwitz, by Rudolf Hoess. Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 25s.

**RUDOLF HOESS** was the model soldier. Soldiering was in his blood, he tells us. All his forbears had served in the forces, and though his father, a fervent Catholic, had intended him for the priesthood, World War I had hardly broken out before he found his way to the front. At seventeen, the youngest NCO in the German Army, he was awarded the Iron Cross.

This is not surprising. From an early age "It was constantly impressed upon me in forceful terms that I must obey promptly the wishes and commands of parents, teachers and priests, and indeed of all grown-up people, including servants, and that nothing must distract me from this duty. Whatever they said was always right."

After the war he volunteered for the *Freikorps*, seeing further fighting in the Baltic States. It was not until he had served six out of a twelve years' term of imprisonment, for his part in the unofficial execution of a Communist suspect, that his thoughts took a constructive turn.

★

Then he joined the *Artamen* "a community of young people of both sexes, who had the interests of the country at heart. They came from the youth movements of all the nationalist-inclined parties and were people who all, at one time or another, had wanted to escape from the unhealthy, dissolute and superficial life of the towns... and to discover for themselves a healthy and tough but natural way of life on the land."

It was through this that he met his wife, a girl who shared his "passion for farming," and with whom he realised from the outset "a mutual trust and understanding such that it seemed as though we had lived together all our lives." Thenceforward his goal appeared assured, "a farmstead home for ourselves and our children."

Alas, he had also joined the National Socialists, and once again duty intervened. Having found in Nazism a substitute for his long-lost Faith, he could not resist Himmler's appeals for active service with

But what could he do about it? It is not for a soldier to pick his post, much less to criticise his commanding officer. When his request for a transfer was refused there was nothing for it, he saw, but to make the best of a bad job.

It was the same when, in 1940, he was summoned to Auschwitz—as Commandant this time—and faced, not merely with the command to step up armaments regardless of lives, but with the Extermination Order itself. This was a veritable martyrdom. Nobody envied him his task here, he says—and one can well believe it. Even the loudest upholders of the "final solution" fell silent when they saw it in operation. Not for him the half-mile of air that separates the bomber from his victims: he had to watch their agonies, endure their appeals and reproaches, month after month, at close quarters. "Nothing surely is harder than to grit one's teeth and go through with such a thing, coldly, pitilessly and without mercy?"

Yet again, what else could he do? Germany was fighting for her life. Disobedience was tantamount to mutiny, and treated as such. Besides, who was he to question his Führer's wisdom? "The clergy have no title which can enable them to see more of the causes of the war than the altogether admirable men conducting the affairs of the nation," the Bishop of Ely was writing at the time. Neither had Rudolf Hoess:



A comparison in extermination—left: German concentration camp at Vught, 1940; right: British rocket base at Driffield, Yorks., 1959.

"Whether this mass-extermination of the Jews was necessary or not was something on which I could not allow myself to form an opinion, for I lacked the necessary breadth of view."

★

No, much as he respected the Jehovah's Witnesses, rapturously confronting his firing squads rather than collaborate with the military, their Faith was no longer his. His was summed up in the watchword, "My country, right or wrong!" For a patriot, there could be no such contracting out: he must just go on suppressing his feelings ruthlessly. "Everything had to be sacrificed to one end, the winning of the war. This was how I looked on my work at that time. I could not be at the front, so I must do everything at home to support those who were fighting."

And so he did—shooting, hanging, gassing and burning in all some 2–3,000,000 Russians, Jews, gypsies ("my best-loved prisoners"), men, women and children...

*I am constantly reproached for not having refused to carry out the Extermination Order, this gruesome murder of women and children. I have given my*

answer at Nuremberg: what would have happened to a group captain who refused to lead an air attack on a town which he knew for certain contained no arms factory, no industrial plant of value to the war effort, and no military installations? An attack in which he knew for sure that his bombs must kill principally women and children? He would surely have been court-martialled. People say that this is no comparison. But in my opinion the two situations are comparable. I was a soldier and an officer, just as was that group captain.

The strange thing is, Lord Russell intimates in his Introduction to this appalling autobiography, that Hoess "really considered that a convincing explanation." The strange thing is that Lord Russell, who is no pacifist, does not.

## AFSC work in Korea

In the August 28 issue of Peace News we published a picture of an American Friends Service Committee housing scheme in Korea as an example of the work continuing today which Rufus Jones had helped to found.

The situation is even brighter than we reported: the AFSC has been able to withdraw from work in Korea leaving its continuation in the hands of local organisations.

## Briefly

Jayaprakash Narayan of the Sarvodaya movement, and A. B. Patel, ex-Minister

## The homeless people of Sophiatown

From Basil Delaine

Johannesburg.

I AM standing, this chilly night, in the African township of Sophiatown

Mum and four of their kids. Stoking a wood fire nearby is the eldest, Joseph. He's nine. Snuggled close to Mum is little Albert. He's nine months. Then come two

and to discover for ourselves the true and tough but natural way of life on the land."

It was through this that he met his wife, a girl who shared his "passion for farming," and with whom he realised from the outset "a mutual trust and understanding such that it seemed as though we had lived together all our lives." Thenceforward his goal appeared assured, "a farmstead home for ourselves and our children."

Alas, he had also joined the National Socialists, and once again duty intervened. Having found in Nazism a substitute for his long-lost Faith, he could not resist Himmler's appeals for active service with the SS: "The temptation of being a soldier again was too strong." And so he got posted to Dachau.

This turned out a disappointment. For one thing, he had wanted active service: the "enemy behind the wire" was no substitute for an enemy at large. For another, convinced though he was that "true opponents of the State had to be locked up" (indeed, that hard work was a sovereign cure for all deviations, from socialism to homo-sexuality), he could never share the outlook of his superior, Eycke, for whom prisoners were not men at all but "Russians" or "Kanakas." After all, he had been a prisoner himself. The sadism of his fellow warders disgusted him only less than their inefficiency.

## PEACE NEWS

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I AM standing, this chilly night, in the African township of Sophiatown—once the home of, and its people always the "concern" of, Father Huddleston.

Around me are ruins which once were houses.

And more than 1,000 men, women and children are homeless—some lying shivering under the stars.

The last phase of "Operation Clearance" is in progress—or will be again to-morrow morning. The ground that has witnessed so much laughter, so many tears, will soon be a White suburb.

Up to now occupants of houses about to be demolished have been moved, often against their wishes, to a brighter, healthier, roomier African township called Meadowlands. But now the bulldozers are overtaking the builders.

And demolition goes on—with no alternative shelter available. Look over there.

When I visited this friendly slum some seven months ago, the most intellectual hovel in Africa stood on that scarred earth.

### MEMORIES

This was where the talented Bloke Modisane (he "escaped" to London recently when the South African Government refused him a passport, remember?) had his books, his record player, his bed, his table and chair.

As I stare at this bare spot to-night I find the denudation almost obscene.

And back flood the memories of that evening at Bloke's . . . the blaring jazz, the Bach that battled against our verbal attack on apartheid and its evils.

Walk on a hundred yards and what do we see? Under a wall a family is huddled. Beneath a huge tattered blanket is Dad,

sing and burning in all some 2—3,000,000 Russians, Jews, gypsies ("my best-loved prisoners"), men, women and children. . .

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Mum and four of their kids. Stoking a wood fire nearby is the eldest, Joseph. He's nine. Snuggled close to Mum is little Albert. He's nine months. Then come two girls, aged two years and four. Next to Dad—whose weary eyes stare anxiously at the stars—is another boy. He's nearly seven.

There are other families lying on the cold earth in Sophiatown to-night. While children sleep fitfully, parents puzzle over to-morrow.

Nearby, some houses still stand whole. In them the air is a little less chilly. But the thoughts of the occupants are no less anxious. For the bulldozers will be moving forward again to-morrow.

And another 2,000 families will ask—"Where do we go from here?"

## Catholic group formed against nuclear war

WE, as Catholics, regard the manufacture, testing, and use of nuclear weapons as immoral and unjustifiable in conscience. Our reasons for this view are based upon the traditional Catholic teaching on war."

This is the opening paragraph of a statement issued by the recently formed Catholic Nuclear Disarmament Group.

The Group say that in making their demands for unilateral disarmament they realise they "would leave this country defenceless against an unscrupulous aggressor, which in turn would almost certainly mean the persecution of the Church."

They consider it their duty "humbly to accept a return to the catacombs rather than to countenance the wholesale slaughter of the innocent which a large-scale nuclear war would involve.

Chairman of the Group is Brendan P. Murphy, 29 Quebec Road, Ilford, Essex.

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Jayaprakash Narayan of the Sarvodaya movement, and A. B. Patel, ex-Minister of the Kenya Government, are among the members of a Working Committee preparing for a conference in 1961 of the New World Union, a movement for world peace on a spiritual foundation with offices at 1 Commercial Buildings, Calcutta, 1.

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

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# PEOPLE AND PLACES by PHYZ

## JAILED H-TEST SKIPPER TO APPEAL

**THE** skipper of The Phoenix, Earle Reynolds, who sailed his vessel into the forbidden H-bomb testing area of the Pacific, has been found guilty after a second trial, ordered because of a judge's errors in the original proceedings.

Earle Reynolds, who has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment and five years' probation, wrote in a letter to our office last week that "again serious errors were made, and again we are appealing."

"I feel we have an excellent chance for a reversal, in that I was not permitted to give basic relevant evidence, nor to bring in any witnesses; moreover, the prosecution made, without challenge, erroneous and prejudicial statements.

His request to be allowed to sail on to Hiroshima, the families' original destination thirteen months ago, was also refused by the court, although both judge and prosecutor stated in open court that they believed Earle Reynolds would return to Honolulu when wanted. Earle Reynolds is appealing separately against this decision.

"We have every confidence that eventually we will win in a legal sense," says Reynolds. "It is our belief that we have already won in the eyes of the public.

"We have received over 4,000 letters overwhelmingly favourable to our cause. These are a great source of strength and comfort to us."

### Reprinted at last

**RICHARD GREGG'S** classic, "The Power of Non-violence," which first appeared in 1935, has been published again in New York.

The new 1959 edition is thoroughly revised and contains much new material. There are descriptions of non-violent resistance to the German occupation of Norway and Denmark in World War II, and the Negroes' non-violent bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. There is also a completely new and detailed chapter on training for non-violence.

It is planned to publish this edition in

### Make pacifism your choice

**DURING** the next few



**RICHARD GREGG**

Britain and India also, and further in a German translation.

In his introduction to the first edition the great Quaker leader, Rufus M. Jones, wrote: "Here is a new kind of book. . . . There is as much realism in this book as there is idealism."

The 1959 edition now carries a foreword by Martin Luther King, and is published at \$2.50 by Fellowship Publications, publishers of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation (Box 271, Nyack, N.Y., U.S.A.).

### Different in Hull

**REPORTS** of Nuclear Disarmament week that I received normally told of meetings or successful marches and film shows. Things were rather different in Hull however.

Francis Deutsch tells me that the most exciting part of the Hull week was not the public meeting nor the march from Beverley to the air base at Leconfield, where the RAF were holding an "At Home," but the

persons standing with a huge notice in the shadow of Queen Victoria were attracting considerable attention from passers-by—the lunch-time crowds, the shoppers and the evening rush hour.

"The pubs in Hull close at 10 p.m. and the City Hall Dance—opposite the vigil site—had its interval at 10.15. From 10.05 p.m. until 10.10 p.m. three policemen stood between us and a jeering crowd of youths; at 10.11 p.m. the police moved off and by 10.12 p.m. each of the seven or eight watchers was surrounded with a howling, jeering crowd of slightly drunk young people, while the watchers answered questions at the top of their voices, gesticulating as hard as the crowd and trying to explain why we were there.

"It took about a quarter of an hour to calm each group down and to get them to realise our sincerity and normalcy, and as soon as one gang moved away the whole procedure started over again as they soon formed a disorderly queue. The last three questioners reluctantly left us at 11.30 p.m. because we packed up.

"As we were leaving a clerical ex-police-man had to use his half-forgotten skill to separate a newly-won supporter who was about to punch a jeering late-comer on the nose. Our last words were 'Yes—good-night,' in answer to the question from this same supporter, who, having been separated from his would-be sparring partner, said, 'Did I do wrong, Padre?'

"We did not win members, we did not get money, but all who took part in this were impressed with the earnestness of our questioners, who were of a type not normally reached by us. This compensated for the lack of concrete result and will, we believe, in the long run, stand us in good stead when the press again tries to misrepresent us as innocent cranks and 'peculiars.'

It certainly sounds exciting, but I'm not sure if I would have enjoyed it if I'd been there!

### Germens of truth

"Only defensive measures are to be discussed with the public. . . . But surely everyone who thinks about it must realise that we are working on offensive weapons as

## Refugees the World Refugee Year won't help

### NEW COMMITTEE FORMED TO AID ALGERIANS

**BECAUSE** the Foreign Office told the UK Council for World Refugee Year not to put the Algerians on the list of those for whom succour is needed, a British Committee for Algerian Refugees has had to be formed.

The new committee has not been organised in conflict with the World Refugee Year Council. Before it was set up those concerned with the grave plight of the Algerian refugees went on a deputation to Lady Elliott, Chairman of the World Refugee Year in the UK, to see if the decision could be reversed, but this was not possible.

Two members of the UK World Refugee Council have, however, come on to the new Committee which has the following aims:

1. "To call attention to the dreadful conditions in which 200,000 Algerian refugees live.
2. "To launch an appeal in order to build up a store of clothes, foodstuffs and medical equipment before next winter.
3. "To demonstrate the interest and growing concern of the British people in the plight of the Algerian refugees.
4. "To help the work of the World Refugee Year wherever it is directed to the relief of the Algerian refugees, and to ask for the participation of the British Council of the World Refugee Year in this field."

### Patrons

Among those who have already agreed to be Patrons are:

Frank Allaura; Roderick Bowen; Sir Arthur Comyns Carr; Canon L. John Collins; The Bishop of Exeter; The Rev. Derrick Greeves; The Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster; The Bishop of Southwark; The Rev. Dr. Donald O. Soper; Viscount Stansgate; The Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead; The Hon. Anthony Wedgwood Benn; and George Wigg.

The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. Stan Awbery.

The Committee members include:

Lord Amulree; Miss Sheila Bagnall; John Baird; Leslie Blankensee; Lionel Cliffe; Mrs. Diana Collins; David Ennals; Cdr. Thomas Fox-Pitt; Leslie Hale; Frank Harcourt Munning; H. Leslie Kirkley; Col. Patrick Lort Phillips; Brig. Sir Frank Medlicott;

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## Make pacifism your choice

**DURING** the next few days many readers of Peace News will be concerned in one way or another with the General Election, though as the special leaflet issued by the Campaign Committee of the Peace Pledge Union points out, in most constituencies pacifists will have no chance to vote for a candidate who would initiate or support the policy of unilateral disarmament in Britain.

We have to wait for another week to know the result of the General Election, but we know in advance that whatever party is returned to power, it will not advocate pacifism. If it would, I should not be making this appeal to you.

As it is, the work of the Peace Pledge Union must go on. One of our previous posters said "Dick Sheppard's work goes on—make it your work too." The work of the Peace Pledge Union is more important than ever. Khrushchev's proposals for total disarmament echo the Litvinov proposals of the 1920s and bring the wheel full circle. Pacifists must demand that Britain should lead the way to total disarmament by unilateral action. I ask you to send a generous donation to the PPU Headquarters Fund in support of that policy, so that whatever you decide to do in relation to voting at the General Election, you will make it clear beyond any doubt that your choice is the policy of absolute pacifism.

**STUART MORRIS,**  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.  
Amount received to date: £595.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



\$2.50 by Fellowship Publications, publishers of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation (Box 271, Nyack, N.Y., U.S.A.).

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Francis Deutsch tells me that the most exciting part of the Hull week was not the public meeting nor the march from Beverley to the air base at Leconfield, where the RAF were holding an "At Home," but the last hour of an eleven hour vigil which ended at 11 p.m. on Friday, September 18.

Describing the last hour Francis writes: "From the very beginning, at lunchtime, it was obvious that the solitary one or two

of the type not normally reached by us. This compensated for the lack of concrete result and will, we believe, in the long run, stand us in good stead when the press again tries to misrepresent us as innocent cranks and 'peculiar'."

It certainly sounds exciting, but I'm not sure if I would have enjoyed it if I'd been there!

## Germes of truth

*"Only defensive measures are to be discussed with the public. . . But surely every one who thinks about it must realise that we are working on offensive weapons as well as defence against them; the Department of Defence would be impossibly incompetent if it weren't."*—Brigadier-General J. H. Rothschild, US Army, Retd., "Germes and Gas" (Harpers Magazine, June, 1959).

## MORE JOIN FIGHT AGAINST WANT

From Olwen Battersby

**THERE** are one billion seven hundred million people living to-day without sufficient food, shelter and health facilities. These were the words of President Eisenhower, in his recent television broadcast.

In this country, in spite of Government apathy, quietly and almost unnoticed groups have arisen—groups are still arising—who see this problem not in terms of mind-deadening statistics, but in terms of people, hungry people, sick people.

Today these groups are scattered throughout the main cities of Britain, loosely linked in a Federation with a Sheffield Committee empowered to call a Convention at the request of groups. The third "National Convention" was held in Sheffield in November, 1958; a fourth is expected this year.

Today at least five Universities have their "Miss-a-Meal" fellowships, meeting over bread and milk for discussion and planning.

In London activity, first stimulated by the North London Action Council for War on Want, through their public library exhibitions, meetings, and film shows, has now spread south where War on Want, Ltd., with strong Labour Party backing, plans an extensive exhibition to be held in the Central Hall Westminster, during 1960.

The North London Action Council, which was created in 1957, made its first aim the "adoption" of a well in India, i.e., raised £100 for tools and equipment where voluntary work squads had already completed the work. At present it is seeking to raise

1,000,000 pennies to inoculate 1,000 children against tuberculosis, and 5,000 sixpences to protect 5,000 children from yaws. More workers, as well as money, are needed, and those living in North London who are interested should get in touch with Norman Hamilton, the Council's Secretary, 10 Candler Street, South Tottenham, N.15., or with its Treasurer, Peter Dodson, c/o 5, Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Representatives from "War on Want" groups in Sheffield, Pontefract, Cambridge University, and from college and church groups in London met together informally recently as the guests of the North London Action Council for War on Want. They discussed plans for future action, co-operation between groups, and the extension of their work.

## WORLD DAY FOR ANIMALS

**WORLD** Day for Animals is to be observed again this year on October 4, the day dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi.

It is organised by the World League Against Vivisection, 42 Aberdeen Road, London, N.1, with three objectives:

- To direct attention to the wrongs inflicted on animals;
- To focus thought on the speediest means of abolishing such wrongs;
- To inspire action on behalf of all suffering animals.

The League, in its 31st Annual Report, shows that press coverage is now world wide.

**PATRONS**

Among those who have already agreed to be Patrons are:

Frank Allaun; Roderick Bowen; Sir Arthur Comyns Carr; Canon L. John Collins; The Bishop of Exeter; The Rev. Derrick Greeves; The Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster; The Bishop of Southwark; The Rev. Dr. Donald O. Soper; Viscount Stansgate; The Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead; The Hon. Anthony Wedgwood Benn; and George Wigg.

The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. Stan Awbery.

The Committee members include:

Lord Amulree; Miss Sheila Bagnall; John Baird; Leslie Blankensee; Lionel Cliffe; Mrs. Diana Collins; David Ennals; Cdr. Thomas Fox-Pitt; Leslie Hale; Frank Harcourt Munning; H. Leslie Kirkley; Col. Patrick Lort Phillips; Brig. Sir Frank Medlicott; Miss Freda Nuell; Laurence Spicer; Miss Manuela Sykes; George Whiteman; Alec Smith.

The Committee will work from 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4, under the auspices of Christian Action and in close co-operation with the Friends' Service Council, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, War on Want, and such other organisations active in this field as may wish to co-operate.

The prospects for more than 200,000 Algerian refugees in the coming winter are really very bad.

"The people have never recovered from last year's severe winter," Commander Fox Pitt told Peace News last week, "and the prospects of relief for this one are poor."

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## Danger in Asia . . .

WITH the latest reports on Laos (Observer, Sept. 27) indicating that Britain and the SEATO powers appear to be brought "a small but perceptible step further towards possible direct military involvement in Laos," it should be remembered that Laos, Tibet and the Himalayan border trouble between China and India are all related issues; and that they all lead to the reflection that there is so far no sign whatever of their having been discussed—let alone given priority—in the Camp David talks between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev.

What we have had instead are generalisations and references to the need of a more flexible Russian attitude regarding Berlin. Apart from noting in passing that greater flexibility and more realism on the side of the West, too, would be helpful in that problem, let it be said that Berlin is no longer the greatest danger spot in the world situation. What may happen in some parts of the former French Indo-China, in Tibet and on the Himalayan border is.

It has taken Russia more than ten years to learn that the non-Communist world is different from what Marx expected it to become within a generation or two of his confident prophecies. The Khrushchev acceptance of the Americans as a peace-loving people is a startling innovation.

Yet Russia, during all the years of her emergence from pathological fear and distrust of the West, has been a member of the United Nations—handicapped, it is true, by always being in a minority, but at least able to observe the West and its statesmen from nearby; and therefore prompt in sensing a change of atmosphere when the Dulles régime came to an end, helped, moreover, by the growing feeling of security as she first drew level with the Americans in atomic and hydrogen bomb achievement and, more recently, beat them in the matter of long-distance missiles.

## . . . China excluded

NONE of these factors applies to China. Apart from the inevitable effects of practical isolation, she feels the stinging insult of exclusion from the United Nations while the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek régime,

which was corrupt when it was in power and would not have been beaten as thoroughly as it was had it not been so corrupt, is accepted there as if he were genuinely speaking for the world's most populous nation.

Nor does SEATO, in combination with constant US aid to any country hostile to China, look inoffensive when viewed from Peking. And at Seoul, in Korea, Syngman Rhee has as recently as the end of August declared in answer to questions by Bruce Brugmann of the Korean Bureau, Stars and Stripes, "to stop the Communists, you have to fight them on every level—and that includes the military as well as the political and ideological."

As a chained dog becomes ferocious, so has China been made aggressive and found an outlet for her aggressiveness where there is least risk of disastrous consequences: in Tibet and on the undefined Himalayan border.

The most impressive fact in the situation is the unshaken sense of justice of Mr. Nehru. He does not conceal his condemnation of China for her action in Tibet. He affords asylum to the Dalai Lama but does not allow him to use Indian territory for subversion against the Chinese.

He is himself in dispute with China on account of the Himalayan border troubles, yet his judgment remains unimpaired that the Chinese Republic should be admitted to membership of the United Nations and he has himself advocated that admission. In comparison with Nehru most Western statesmen look pretty small and short-sighted.

It is hard to think of a better way to pre-dispose Mr. Khrushchev towards concessions than to offer the withdrawal of opposition to Chinese membership of the United Nations, which was once again refused last week, in the guise of a year's postponement of a decision.

As Mr. Khrushchev is travelling to Peking immediately after his return from America the effect of such a change of attitude—triple-sealed secret as it might have to be pending the necessary process of skilful preparation of the public mind—would be far-reaching. It would also be realistic, particularly in view of so many nations' fear of the growing power of China, because Peking could then no longer justly refuse to be bound by rules, regulations and pronouncements "made by an association of which it is not a member."

## Making peace . . .

MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S visit to the United States was a success in so far as it showed that he didn't have a tail and horns and that he wasn't the devil incarnate. For the first time the American people have come into direct contact with a Russian leader; in the process some of their cherished myths about the Russians must have been destroyed.

The success of the political negotiations between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower are not so easy to estimate. It is obviously better that the great powers

should negotiate rather than threaten over Berlin. But it should be remembered that negotiation as a method of establishing peace does not have a very successful record in the twentieth century.

It is particularly important for campaigners against nuclear weapons to remember this. People who are trying to propagate an unfamiliar and (to some extent) unpopular method of action like unilateral disarmament are often tempted to see offers like the one Mr. Khrushchev made to the United Nations on disarmament or the prospect of negotiated agreements between Russia and America as a quick solution to all their problems. Several speakers at the nuclear disarmament week rally in Trafalgar Square apparently thought of Mr. Khrushchev's offer in this way.

But one cannot leap out of history in this way. The sure way to peace is to create the conditions for it. And surely one of the most important preliminary conditions at present is, as the CND has always insisted, the abandoning of nuclear weapons by Britain.

## . . . influencing people

THE reception that Mr. K. got on the early part of his tour raised some difficult problems. On occasions like Mr. K.'s visit it is too easy to forget that he is a dictator, that there is still a large and brutal secret police in Russia, that Mr. K. *did* order, and continues to justify, the suppression of the Hungarian revolutionaries.

The Americans, who in their speeches and in the advertisements in the New York Times, reminded the world of these facts no doubt think that they were performing a public service by so doing.

But we should look carefully at the names of these people. Are they the people who protest about American support for dictators like Trujillo and Franco, who protested about Senator McCarthy's activities? Of course they weren't. Their hypocrisy and arrogance is more likely to make people sympathetic to Khrushchev than anything else.

## In Russian jails

FOUR leaders of Jehovah's Witnesses in Russia have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment by a People's Tribunal in the Ukraine for alleged "crimes against the state." Charged with possessing "anti-Soviet" literature, the Witnesses were upbraided in the following terms: "By refusing to bear arms or to participate in elections or political activities . . . they have refused even to keep up the appearance of being law-abiding citizens as do other religious sects." The Paris newspaper, Le Monde, reporting this predicted that it will not be long before JW's are banned from Russia. These imprisonments confirm that the Soviet Union is more concerned with being a power state than a socialist community. And haven't Western countries constantly jailed men who refuse to bear arms?

## LETTERS

### 'A time to protest'

AT the Campaign for Nuclear Disarma-

on every other subject but Nuclear Disarmament, then no doubt if there is no

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## LETTERS

### 'A time to protest'

AT the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament rally in Trafalgar Square, Mr. Victor Gollancz said that although he had been a member of the Labour Party for 50 years, he had for some time been dissatisfied with their policy on nuclear weapons and had decided not to vote for them at the general election. He then announced that he had changed his mind the previous evening, after listening to a broadcast by Mr. Gaitskell.

Was this an attempt to whitewash the Labour Party in order to gain votes? In any case it was a disservice to CND. It must be obvious that the non-nuclear club is contrary to the principles for which the movement stands, and that to persuade the membership otherwise is to make them gullible to pre-election vote catching propaganda and susceptible to meaningless political platitudes. This is just what CND must be strong enough to resist, if it is ultimately to succeed in its aims.

To think that Labour will be any more sympathetic to unilateral disarmament once it is securely in power is not only a delusion but thoroughly dishonest to those who vote for its advertised policies.

Those who genuinely hold that unconditional nuclear disarmament is the right policy in the most vital political issue before them and are unable to obtain an undertaking from their candidate that he will vote against nuclear arms in the House can only withhold their vote, as suggested in your leading article last week.—CLIFFORD WICKEN, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

MAY I try briefly to answer your question of last week: "Is there any other way (in most constituencies) in which opponents of nuclear weapons and war will be able to make their position clear" except by refusing to vote?

If a voter is one of the "Don't Knows"

on every other subject but Nuclear Disarmament, then no doubt if there is no candidate who supports his view he should abstain from voting. If, on the other hand, he has other causes at heart, less urgent perhaps but still urgent enough, such as a sane and generous policy on the future of Africa, aid to under-developed countries, social justice at home, capital punishment, etc., etc., then surely he must vote for the party most nearly reflecting his own opinion. Anything else is a negation of democracy. It is all very well to be an absolutist or perfectionist for oneself, but no one has the right to demand perfection from others. In politics at least, if not in human life in general, one never has a choice between black and white, but only between varying shades of grey.

That does not mean that such a voter should not at the same time make every possible effort to convince others, e.g., by writing to candidates and to the press, and talking to canvassers, as suggested in your columns. And after the election the voter can do just as much as the non-voter, whichever party is in power.

This is the view of a large proportion of pacifists, and indeed of the leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament themselves. Others are equally entitled to their view, and *Peace News*, as the only pacifist paper, should provide a forum, as I believe it has always tried to do, for all honestly held pacifist viewpoints.—SCOTT BAYLISS, Far End, Headley Down, nr. Bordon, Hants.

### Voters' Veto

WITH all this talk about Voters Veto, the question arises whether this will be a good or bad thing in the general election.

I answer, most definitely a good thing. Why?

Because it may prevent Labour from being pitchforked into power by the Liberal-Tory front, and thus being saved from

being dashed to pieces on the rocks of unemployment as in 1929-31.

Within two years we shall be increasingly squeezed out of trade with the European Common Market countries who are progressively lowering tariffs among themselves. The hire purchase boom will have burnt itself out after about a year. Competition from other countries is on the increase, particularly from Western Germany and Japan, whose industries are comparatively unhampered by arms manufacture.

The Tories deserve to meet what's coming. Full steam ahead then for Voters Veto and don't stand any waffle.—GEORGE GREGORY, Box Hill Rd., nr. Tadworth, Surrey.

WHEN I first heard about the organisation proposed by Wallace Hancock, described on the back page of *PN* Sept. 18, I was inclined to think it superfluous. But now that we know that the Direct Action Committee has done a "Bevan" on Voters' Veto it seems a very good thing that there is an organisation which is not prepared to compromise for the sake of expediency with the Party which is responsible for starting the British H-bomb programme and for the American bases.—LEONARD TOMKINSON, 144 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10.

### Khrushchev in America

JIM PECK in his "Letter from America" in your issue of Sept. 11, quotes the American labour movement as equating Khrushchev with Franco.

There may well be justice in this, but doesn't the American labour movement know that America is supplying armaments to one of these dictators?

To be polite to either of them is a vastly different thing to supplying Franco with armaments!—H. DALBY, 17, Newstead Rd., Middlesbrough.

### Nuclear Disarmament Week

ONE lesson at last emerges from the late succession of mass rallies and demonstrations . . . in London at least. They have become too vague and imprecise: the larger the vaguer. They lack the grim determination and the inexorable precision of demand which characterise the smaller

more particular actions: against the rocket sites, against the French test, against each particular development as it emerges, of threat to the health and lives of the peoples of this country and of the world.

The planned mass demonstration is becoming soft at the centre, thereby undermining the grim seriousness of our whole movement; is becoming part of the Establishment, a harmless, ineffective, safety-valve, a jamboree; with the possible consequence that it will fail of its full power and effect even at the moment of real crisis, of spontaneous mass uprising, whenever that descends upon us.

The demonstrations are past now. Let's get down to the real work, particular schemes proliferating in numerous smaller centres, applied with a concentrated precision, in a variety of pertinent actions.

Let us give first priority to the qualities of our "actions"—especial intelligence, especial penetration (as well as especial conscientiousness and determination)—which unavoidably tend to lose their finer edge and sharper point in the centralisation (and bureaucratisation) of mass actions. Let these qualities come first not only in planning and preparation, but also in the carrying out of the final projects themselves, in which over-consideration of sheer numbers and quantity may at worst be meretricious—at least unworthy of our spirit—and at best self-defeating.—G. H. PETCH, 22, Lanchester Rd., London, N.6.

(More letters page five)

## Exhibition against Bomb on French TV

THE "No Place to Hide" exhibition in the charge of its creators, Mr. and Mrs. John Brunner—members of the Hampstead Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—arrived last week in Lyon, France.

The couple were given a brief interview on television and pictures of Hiroshima, bomb victims, and a specially drawn map showing the impact of an H-bomb on Lyon were included.

The exhibition, which is touring Europe, has already caused considerable interest in Denmark, but its reception in Switzerland can only be compared to that in Sweden, where 20,000 attended the showing in Stockholm. The exhibition, which used the premises of a co-operative publishing firm in Lausanne, attracted press attention. The Swiss are now planning to make a similar exhibition of their own for circulation throughout the country.

A resounding success is expected at the next main stop—Brussels. Here the organisation sponsoring the exhibition in the town has been donated free space for the showing in the annual food fair. By a happy piece of timing, while "No Place to Hide" is on display, the European Federation's Red Cross Campaign will also be launched.

## CAMPAIGN CORNER

## KEEP YOUR TEMPERATURE UP



Oh! But this is a better one than that one

THEY say the Conservatives are hoping to win the General Election by keeping the temperature down!

No intemperate demands for the parties to face the vital issues of life and death which hang over us today. Just twiddle the TV knobs and choose your favourite star.

Not that the rival parties seem any more willing to "turn on the heat" for radical changes in foreign and defence policies. The electorate will not be challenged with the futile burden of arms and alliances for war.

Unless, that is, readers of Peace News do the challenging.

Just under a week remains before polling day. Distribute extra Peace News and free literature (obtainable here) as widely as possible.

Put your manifesto through your neighbours' doors. Peace News for free distribution cost only 3s. a dozen. On sale or return for meetings at 5s. a dozen. Or quantities of recent issues free of charge (but please send 9d. a dozen for postage).

Waste no time, send for extra copies by return of post. Don't let apathy win.

H. F. M.

PEACE NEWS, October 2, 1959—5

—By Sybil Morrison—

## MOSS ON THE MILESTONES

*The key (to disarmament) lies in getting an agreement on a workable system of control and inspection. If we can get agreement on the stopping of H-bomb tests, and I think we can, it will be a real milestone on the road. It will be a valuable advance in itself, and it will be the first practical experiment with international control and inspection.—Mr. Macmillan, Sept. 26, 1959.*

IN the midst of the torrent of words poured out during last week-end in regard to take-over bids, the Rent Act and old age pensions, Mr. Macmillan threw off, more or less in passing, a few clichés about disarmament.

In the short sentence I have quoted he has managed to repeat himself twice both about "control and inspection" and also in respect of an alleged "advance" towards disarmament that an agreement over H-bomb tests would be likely to entail.

His remarks belong, typically, to those far-off days when there were milestones on our roads; grey, weather-beaten, upright stones like a small edition of tombstones but engraved with the numbers of miles to adjacent towns or villages. No one looks for these in this era of fast cars and huge sign-posting, so that the miserable cliché about a "milestone on the road" is significant only for its lack of any real significance.

The important issue of peace for the peoples of this country and of the world has not been touched upon during the important broadcasts and election addresses of the first week-end of the campaign for votes; indeed, as the election fever grows, so, it would seem, the question of peace becomes buried in the undergrowth and the moss which to-day obscure the milestones of a past age.

★

The large signs on the highway to a new Parliament and a new Government point only to domestic problems, and the differences as to the routes are not very clear, so that to the new driver it would almost seem that either way would do. There is no great shining sign pointing to the aban-

## LETTERS

### Total disarmament

WHY all this surprise at Nikita Khrushchev's plan for disarmament?

In 1927 Litvinov made practically the same suggestion to the League of Nations, and had it been accepted then the world would have been spared much bitter experience and sorrow. As it was a huge guffaw ran round nearly all the rest of the world and a wonderful chance of ensuring international peace was flung aside in derision.

It is up to adult minded members of all Nations to see that the plan has a better fate this time.—OLIVE MURPHY, 4a The Ridgeway, London, N.W.11.

### 'Vote with your feet'

IF I had not been lazy in providing a heading for the article you printed on 25-9-59 you would not have had to supply a title. I hope you will not mind if I explain this, because PUT THE BOMB TO

clear. In the former a large and rapidly growing percentage of the population is settling down in a respectable materialism under the aegis of the Church, which invites and expects a good measure of charitable contributions. Few of these would join the New Left, what the rest would do, the non-church-goers, cannot be predicted.

Neither can the turn of events in Russia be predicted, because we cannot estimate the power of the Communist hierarchy to hold the masses in ignorance of the world's doings. But breakaways from Communist orthodoxy are occurring, and these will almost certainly increase both in number and strength.

Speaking generally, progress will chiefly depend upon the aims and objects of the New Left, also the rights and values it proposes to uphold, and these must be evolved as the movement grows and realises more completely the freedoms and the values

of goods and services will quickly eliminate most spiritual and human values and perish in moral rottenness, the satiation, fatigue, nausea, disgust, sadism and hopelessness of a manufactured, commercialised materialism.

Pacifists have an important part to play in that revolution. They should ponder, practice and proclaim the spiritual values on which the new civilisation should rest, and work out, each person for himself, a rational simplicity of life in which spiritual values, social ends and the demands of neighbourly love set the limits to self-indulgence.

Moreover, the New Left, unless motivated by powerful creative and other spiritual values, will strike fear in the hearts of a wider area of self-interested persons than any previous Left has done, and this fear would postpone effective disarmament. These new obligations should not be taken on lightly.

and had been accepted then the world would have been spared much bitter experience and sorrow. As it was a huge guffaw ran round nearly all the rest of the world and a wonderful chance of ensuring international peace was flung aside in derision.

It is up to adult minded members of all Nations to see that the plan has a better fate this time.—**OLIVE MURPHY, 4a The Ridgeway, London, N.W.11.**

### **'Vote with your feet'**

**I**F I had not been lazy in providing a heading for the article you printed on 25-9-59 you would not have had to supply a title. I hope you will not mind if I explain this, because PUT THE BOMB TO THE VOTE is not a slogan I can endorse, first, because I don't think it possible to do so in this election, and second, because if the public were to vote for nuclear weapons I would still urge all-out direct action against them. I must apologise for the correction, but it seems to me one of substance. My own headline if I had thought to put one would have been VOTE WITH YOUR FEET, and I hope that people will.—**ALEX COMFORT, 44 The Avenue, Loughton, Essex.**

### **'The New Left'**

**P**EACE NEWS did well to publish E. P. Thompson's article on The New Left, for two reasons:

1. It brings a touch of realism into the confused politics of our time.
2. It reveals the new fears which the task of resolving the contradictions in current world politics will undoubtedly stimulate, which fears will postpone still further the disarmament we all desire.

On the whole, I think Mr. Thompson's analysis is correct. It has been fairly obvious for some time that the revolts against Russian Communism in Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia would eventually find a measure of unity with a New Left in the Western Democracies necessitated by the obvious spiritual exhaustion of the old Socialist Parties.

But a New Left will bring into being a New Right, which will embrace a wide area of vested interests, the new rich of the recent Prosperity, including a considerable Middle Class section of the Labour Party.

The area of the New Left in its beginnings would include the Western democracies and the Western satellites of Russia. Its future dimensions would largely depend upon its aims and objects and its spiritual and social content. How it would affect the United States and Russia is far from

contributions. Few of these would join the New Left, what the rest would do, the non-church-goers, cannot be predicted.

Neither can the turn of events in Russia be predicted, because we cannot estimate the power of the Communist hierarchy to hold the masses in ignorance of the world's doings. But breakaways from Communist orthodoxy are occurring, and these will almost certainly increase both in number and strength.

Speaking generally, progress will chiefly depend upon the aims and objects of the New Left, also the rights and values it proposes to uphold, and these must be evolved as the movement grows and realises more completely the freedoms and the values which it deems to be of vital necessity.

Mr. Thompson does however indicate some of the procedures that must be adopted immediately, such, for instance, as trying to propagate and deepen in the Labour Movement and in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament the internationalist outlook of active neutrality; gaining access to channels of communication to people despite the existing Party and other obstacles; constructing an alternative cultural apparatus; helping to bring about a renaissance of socialist theory and achieve a social reunification, etc.

He then adds: "But we must go further . . . examine the problem of economic power and of workers' control, the problems of decentralisation and of popular participation in social control," and concludes with this important declaration:

"A true socialist community will not be brought into being by legislative manipulation and top-level economic planning alone . . . Socialism must be built by men and women in voluntary association. The work of changing people's values and attitudes and summoning up of aspirations to further change by means of utopian critiques of existing society remains as much a duty of socialists as the conquest and maintenance of working-class power."

He also refers to "the re-discovery of William Morris's vision of a society of equals."

It is to the implications of this declaration that pacifists should pay particular attention.

What is now fairly clear is that we shall either move towards a new social revolution on a very wide front, possibly embracing the whole world, or our civilisation will run amok. A civilisation based on getting and spending money with the uncriticised aim of maximum production and consump-

materialism. Pacifists have an important part to play in that revolution. They should ponder, practice and proclaim the spiritual values on which the new civilisation should rest, and work out, each person for himself, a rational simplicity of life in which spiritual values, social ends and the demands of neighbourly love set the limits to self-indulgence.

Moreover, the New Left, unless motivated by powerful creative and other spiritual values, will strike fear in the hearts of a wider area of self-interested persons than any previous Left has done, and this fear would postpone effective disarmament. These new obligations should run in harness with every disarmament campaign, CND or other.—**WILFRED WELLOCK, Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston, Lancs.**

### **'Problems of peace today'**

**Y**OUR readers will, I think, be interested to know that an important conference has been arranged for the week-end of 16-18 October at Spode House, Hawkesyard Priory, Rugeley, Staffs. Under the title of "Problems of Peace Today," sessions will be devoted to such aspects as defence in the nuclear age, the scope of non-violence, and Christian action for peace, and the speakers will include His Grace Archbishop Roberts, SJ, Walter Stein of Leeds University, Barbara Wall, and (representing non-Catholics) Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News.

Also among those taking part will be the Very Rev. Henry St. John, the Dominican Prior Provincial, and Dom Bede Griffiths, OSB, who will be able to speak from first-hand knowledge of the recent non-violent campaign against the Communist Government in Kerala.

This conference will offer an outstanding opportunity for Catholic pacifists and supporters of nuclear disarmament to meet together, and a warm welcome is also extended to Christians of other denominations who are interested in the Catholic approach to these problems.

Applications and enquiries should be addressed to the Warden at Spode House, the charge for the week-end being £2 2s., of which 10s. should be sent as booking fee. The conference will start on the Friday evening (supper at 7 p.m.) and finish on the Sunday afternoon, but those unable to stay for the whole week-end may attend for part of the conference at a reduced charge.

—**CHARLES S. THOMPSON, Editor, Pax Bulletin, 93 Malmstone Avenue, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.**

peoples of this country and of the world has not been touched upon during the important broadcasts and election addresses of the first week-end of the campaign for votes; indeed, as the election fever grows, so, it would seem, the question of peace becomes buried in the undergrowth and the moss which to-day obscure the milestones of a past age.

★  
The large signs on the highway to a new Parliament and a new Government point only to domestic problems, and the differences as to the routes are not very clear, so that to the new driver it would almost seem that either way would do. There is no great shining sign pointing to the abandonment of war preparation as a way towards new life and positive peace policies. The blazing arrows and glittering cats-eyes pointing the way for those who are unsure, for those who are wavering, for those who are half convinced that war is an out-moded method, are not there.

The Conservative Party's signs indicate that it is well to skirt around the 10s. flat rise for old-age pensioners since this may set our feet upon the road to increased taxation. The Labour Party indicates that the Conservative way is a confusion of cross-roads in tax evasion, and the Liberal Party, mentioning the Bomb in passing, indicates that their way will by-pass it, leaving it to the USA.

None of the major parties mention the possibility that an abandonment of war preparation would make possible all the domestic reforms that are held out as baits.

It is, of course, absurd to suppose that elections will be fought on the overwhelmingly important issue of war or peace, for the very simple reason that all political parties accept and believe in the ultimate resort to armed force.

Labour may have held a different view about the Suez invasion, which might have led to a major war, but they supported the Korean war, and initiated the re-armament of Germany and peace time conscription. Without the basic acceptance of war as an ultimate, none of these tragic occurrences would have been possible.

The milestones on the road have for too long been military milestones, and the signposts recently have consistently shown the way to racial suicide. "Control and inspection" is the soothing sop offered to the wayfarer who only wants to sit down and rest, even if he is, in fact, going the wrong way.

Those who march towards freedom from the tyranny of war are only a small contingent carrying a banner emblazoned with the words: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another." They know the way; their road is clearly marked; it is the one road, and the only sure road to peace.

## Pacifism at the L.S.E.



THE Pacifist Society of the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, will be recruiting new members during the Fresher's Reception this week at the stall pictured above.

The Society aims at "propagating pacifism as a personal ideal and a practical objective." It will disseminate the literature of all pacifist organisations, organise meetings within the School for pacifist speakers, run a bookstall for the sale of pacifist literature, and sell Peace News outside the School every week during term time.

The Secretary of the Society is Ted Jones, past Chairman of the London Area of the Peace Pledge Union, and former London Area delegate to the PPU National Council. Also on the committee of the Society is Maxwell Bird, son of PPU National Council member Leonard Bird.

# IMPRESSIONS OF POLAND

By Geoffrey Carnall

*This summer, as in 1957 and 1958, the American Friends' Service Committee arranged an international seminar in Poland. The subject this year was the contribution of small nations to peace. Among the participants was Geoffrey Carnall, who writes here about his impressions of Poland.*

WHEN George Orwell wrote "1984" he can hardly have guessed that a few years later copies of the book could be picked up in second-hand bookshops in Poland—admittedly not in a Polish translation. In a public reading room in Cracow, as in other Polish cities, one can read newspapers and magazines from many parts of the world. (England's newspapers are represented by The Times, The Guardian, The Observer, Daily Mirror and Daily Worker.)

Poland's elections are not mere stage-managed demonstrations of proletarian solidarity. Religious instruction is given in the schools, to the dismay of conscientious atheist parents. There is an unmistakable freedom of speech, no fear of mixing with foreigners, no nonsense about compulsory Socialist realism for writers and painters.

Is all this an unstable compromise, something that will collapse under the strain of an economic crisis or a revival of international tension? Or is "Poland's road to Socialism," fortified as it is by the official blessing of Mr. Khrushchev himself, now a permanent part of the European scene, a liberalising influence upon the whole Communist bloc?

No one can come to any reliable conclusions after three weeks in a country where he doesn't speak the language. But for what it is worth, my impression is that the Polish experiment is pretty vigorous, and that people of very different points of view still feel a genuine enthusiasm for it.

### 'Since October'

A phrase I heard over and over again was "Since October..."—meaning "Since October 1956," when Mr. Gomulka was swept to power and established this new-style Communist regime. Since October there have been more consumer goods; since October the administration has strictly respected legal restraints; since October film producers have had a much freer hand. One could continue the list indefinitely.

The people I mainly had the chance to talk to were students, university teachers, journalists, and so on. They belonged to a class which had gained a great deal from

a bus), and anyhow I needed time to think over the film again from the point of view suggested by my companion.

Perhaps it *did* imply that Communism could not do much to relieve the condition of the human race. But I wasn't convinced, and if I had stayed longer in Poland there is no doubt that the discussion would have continued.

Would it have been worth continuing? That depends on how important one thinks it would be to have a serious discussion of "Dr. Zhivago." Without such preliminary



**"One senses the possibility of a common effort by people, on both sides of the political frontier, to understand and deal with the issues that divide them."**

International work campers in Poland, at a Quaker meeting.

equally in young people nearer home—there is a turning away from public affairs, which seem to them pure humbug, impossibly unreal. One student attended a few discussions at our international seminar, and was appalled. He felt that we were only

explorations, "Dr. Zhivago" will remain, in eastern Europe, a victim of the cold war. The possibility of a real argument about Pasternak's peculiar viewpoint will be a fair indication that a genuine solidarity is growing up across a once impassable frontier.

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## 'Since October'

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The people I mainly had the chance to talk to were students, university teachers, journalists, and so on. They belonged to a class which had gained a great deal from the 1956 liberalisation, and perhaps a more thorough investigation of public opinion would produce a less favourable impression. The only industrial worker I talked to (he had lived in France, so we had a common language) was certainly thoroughly discontented, and complained that he could not live on his wages. One heard reports of dishonesty and "fiddling," but it isn't easy to put such reports into perspective unless one knows the country well. What can be said is that there is no obtrusive poverty.

I travelled to Poland through East Germany, a country which does still have a taint of "1984." This is partly the fault of official-looking slogans which one sees along the railway, urging support for a demilitarised zone in central Europe, or denouncing warmongers. Once one has crossed the Polish border the slogans virtually disappear. People in Poland, I was told, are tired of slogans. If they are Marxists (many of them aren't), they are so because they think Socialist economic organisation works better than the free market economy. But there is no great difference in temper between such Marxists and members of the staff of The Economist, except that the latter have, on the whole, more moral fervour.

The absence of crusading fervour was obvious in a news-reel I saw of the Youth Festival in Vienna. Politics were kept to a minimum, and the emphasis was on fashion parades, jazz, and dancing. Anything else would certainly have had little appeal for most of the students I met. In my ignorance I had prepared myself for visiting Poland by reading some of the Marxist classics. I'd have done much better to attend as many films as possible, and to practise rock-'n-roll.

It isn't exactly that Polish students are incurably frivolous. But—and one sees this



**"One senses the possibility of a common effort by people, on both sides of the political frontier, to understand and deal with the issues that divide them."**

International work campers in Poland, at a Quaker meeting.

equally in young people nearer home—there is a turning away from public affairs, which seem to them pure humbug, impossibly unreal. One student attended a few discussions at our international seminar, and was appalled. He felt that we were only repeating notions we had picked up in newspapers. There was nothing intimately related to our personal experience. How much more valuable if we had discussed the novels of E. M. Forster!

In the ordinary way I do not trust this kind of argument. Highbrow discussions and rock-'n-roll can both be ways of evading our responsibility for what goes on in the political world. Even so, I think that that student had a point. If one starts from a shared experience, whether in real life or in a novel or a poem, it is certainly easier to avoid the automatic accusation-and-retort that often makes political argument so sterile. The most exciting thing about Poland to-day is that one senses the possibility of a common effort, by people on both sides of the political frontier, to understand and to deal with the issues that divide the world.

## 'Ashes and Diamonds'

I say **possibility** deliberately, because I didn't get very far myself. The language barrier in particular is troublesome, because the effort of entering into another person's point of view is quite difficult enough in itself without having the additional handicap of inefficient communication. None the less, there were promising moments.

I remember talking to our Polish hostess about "Ashes and Diamonds," Andrzej Wajda's film about anti-Communist partisans at the end of the last war. I said that while it presented Communism in a sympathetic light, it avoided that oversimplified assurance which only alienated the average Western audience. She looked extremely surprised, and said that there had been great misgivings about exporting the film at all, as it gave such a sordid impression of Polish life. The conversation petered out at this point (we had to get on

explorations, "Dr. Zhivago" will remain, in eastern Europe, a victim of the cold war. The possibility of a real argument about Pasternak's peculiar viewpoint will be a fair indication that a genuine solidarity is growing up across a once impassable frontier.

## Quote

*We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of his iniquity. We must not, for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.*

*If a father does injustice, it is the duty of his children to leave the parental roof. If the headmaster of a school conducts his institution on an immoral basis, the pupils must leave the school. If the chairman of a corporation is corrupt, the members thereof must wash their hands clean of his corruption by withdrawing from it; even so if a government does a grave injustice the subject must withdraw co-operation wholly or partially, sufficiently to wear the ruler from wickedness. In each case conceived by me there is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering it is not possible to attain freedom.—M. K. Gandhi.*

*True morality consists, not in following the beaten track, but in finding out the true path for ourselves and in fearlessly following it.—M. K. Gandhi.*

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**PPU MEMBERS**, CND, etc., near Eltham, Sidcup, Lee, Plumstead, urgently wanted to help Ronald Mallone (PPU since 1936) win West Woolwich for pacifism. 141 Woolacombe Road, Kidbrooke. (LEE 6249).

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### LITERATURE

**CONTACT**—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 12s., 12 months £1 3s. 6d. Box 79, Cape Town, South Africa.

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# African co-operatives build African democracy

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

**MY** post included an unusual document this week. My eye lingered on its cover—orange in colour, green and black printing and designs. There was no mistaking it was African.

The designs, bold and strong, were of tropical plants, strings of coffee branches, leaves and beans. Behind was a landscape of Mount Kilimanjaro, rising to its snow-rimmed volcano-like peak. Hand-drawn lettering, clean but with character, told me this was the twenty-sixth annual report of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, Limited. Twenty-six years!

**The Kilimanjaro Co-operative is one of the most remarkable and inspiring institutions in all Africa.**

Eight years ago in neighbouring Kenya I found that Africans were not allowed to grow coffee; at the best they were allowed only a hundred plants. The official justification was that Africans were incompetent farmers and that their plants would spread disease; the answer lay across Kilimanjaro, on its Tanganyika slopes. Here Africans, not distinguishable from their brothers in Kenya, were growing the finest coffee in the world.

Last year this Co-operative Union produced 5,821 tons of coffee. It links together 38 separate societies. All the officers of the Union are African. The venture is much more than economic. It is educational and social; it has a college, a library, a hostel.

The college has 44 students, learning English, mathematics, commerce, Co-operative technique, shorthand, typewriting. No fewer than 310 certificates have been gained from the Royal Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce and the Pitman Institute.

## Economic prospects

The use of the Library is astonishing. Just short of one thousand books were borrowed, and the reading room had nearly ten thousand visitors during last year. Fiction books read were less than half. History, travel, biography, applied art and social and pure science represented nearly half. There is no English public library which has such a proportion of serious reading.

The hostel has accommodation for 100, including 56 students. Its restaurant accommodates 200. African women are trained as waitresses, "given bright dresses". The hall has a stage with dressing rooms and a

territories. I believe that in this lies the greatest economic prospect for Africa. It means trained and skilled production, the full return to the growers of the value of their crops, and valuable social and educational ventures, belonging to the people and run by the people themselves. This is real democracy.

Tanganyika is not alone, of course, in its great Co-operative ventures. There is Ghana with its 413 societies and 33,000 members. Here the dominant export, cocoa, is entirely marketed through the Co-operative organisation or through the State Board. In Eastern Nigeria there are over 800 societies and 42,000 members.

Co-operatives are powerful among cotton farmers in Uganda; they are extending again in Kenya after the Mau Mau troubles, they have taken strong root in Nyasaland, they are expanding in the Sudan. A Co-operative pattern for Africa is developing.

**I should like to see Co-operatives invading the light industries.**

The last time I was in Kenya I had a vision of an African economy which could emerge. I saw in my mind's eye a wide circle of farms, growing coffee, sisal, pyrethrum, co-ordinated in a Co-operative. Their holdings would verge on the centre of the circle, where there would be a small township, with the headquarters of the District Council, the school, the clinic and a Co-operative Store. I also visualised a Co-operative workshop there.

It is argued sometimes that Kenya cannot have a high standard of life because no minerals have been discovered. But she is rich in potential supplies for light industries. In one of my Townships of the Future there could be a coffee curing plant, in another, a saw mill and furniture factory fed from abundant timber, in another a boot and shoe factory using the plentiful



Technical assistance would be necessary at first: managers, craftsmen, bookkeepers. Many African Co-operatives have folded up merely because there was no one to keep the accounts competently.

**The Co-operative movement in Europe could enrol volunteers, and they would be welcomed in Africa if they came without racial superiority and with the determination to train Africans to do the job as soon as possible.**

There is one important problem still to be resolved in the administration of Co-operatives in Africa. The essence of the Co-operative movement is voluntary association, independent not only of capitalist ownership but of control by the State. In many British colonies, however, the initiative and organisation have often come from the Government. I remember how shocked I was in Uganda nine years ago, when visiting the Chief Secretary. I asked for the headquarters of the Co-operative Movement, and was directed to an office in the Government Building with a Colonial Office official in charge! In the early days in some countries Government supervision may have been necessary, but one of the reflections of the new spirit of self-reliance in Africa must be the claim of the Co-operative Movement to run its own affairs.

**As Africans develop their Co-operatives they should be conscious of the fact that they are members of one of the most powerful movements in the world.**

The International Co-operative Alliance has 386,395 affiliated societies and 121,173,725 members. The societies are in all five Continents and on both sides of the Iron Curtain; Russia and America are in it together.

## ICA in Africa

The ICA has done splendid work in extending Co-operation in Asia. It has helped many of the African movements, though the African affiliations are only five: Egypt, Ghana, Eastern Nigeria, the Sudan, and

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**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

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## Economic prospects

The use of the Library is astonishing. Just short of one thousand books were borrowed, and the reading room had nearly ten thousand visitors during last year. Fiction books read were less than half. History, travel, biography, applied art and social and pure science represented nearly half. There is no English public library which has such a proportion of serious reading.

The hostel has accommodation for 100, including 56 students. Its restaurant accommodates 200. African women are trained as waitresses, "given bright dresses". The hall has a stage with dressing rooms and a scenery store.

There is an even larger Coffee Co-operative Union in Tanganyika at Bukoba, with 52 affiliated societies and over 50,000 African growers. These Co-operatives are the major coffee organisations in the colony. The only other one is an Association of 237 European and Asian growers who produce 2,000 tons of coffee annually.

**I want to emphasise the significance for the whole of Africa of what is happening in Tanganyika. As we have seen, practically the entire production of one of the colony's main exports is under Co-operative control.**

What has been done by Africans in Tanganyika can be done in other African

pyrethrum, groundnuts, growing cotton, and other crops. Their holdings would verge on the centre of the circle, where there would be a small township, with the headquarters of the District Council, the school, the clinic and a Co-operative Store. I also visualised a Co-operative workshop there.

It is argued sometimes that Kenya cannot have a high standard of life because no minerals have been discovered. But she is rich in potential supplies for light industries. In one of my Townships of the Future there could be a coffee curing plant, in another, a saw mill and furniture factory fed from abundant timber, in another a boot and shoe factory using the plentiful hides.

#### Why should these not be Co-operative plants and workshops?

Capital would be required to build and equip the factories. Everyone is now talking about economic aid for the underdeveloped territories. What better method than the provisions of loans for Co-operative establishments?

The Co-operative movement is powerful and rich in Britain and Europe. What finer service could it render to the extension of Co-operation than assistance to these emerging African movements? I should like to see it provide, at least, for a pilot Co-operative community in Kenya—farming, a store, a factory—on the lines I have suggested.

#### Tuesday, October 6

**GRANGE-OVER-SANDS:** 7.30 p.m. Parish Hall, Kent's Bank Rd., Public Mtg. Rev. Dr. A. D. Belden. Chair: Rev. W. H. Sansom. **Grange Peace Group.**

#### Wednesday, October 7

**HASTINGS:** 7.30 p.m. Lower Hall, White Rock Pavilion. "Children of Hiroshima." FoR PPU.

**LONDON, S.E.9:** 8 p.m. Eltham Well Hall, Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Rd. Eve of Poll Rally Against All War. Sybil Morrison, Ronald Mallone, John Loverseed, Pat Deighan, Bob Walsh, Albert Leaper, Derek Walker. Fellowship Party.

**LONDON, S.E.18:** 8 p.m. Woolwich Friends Mtg. Ho. "Vote Against All War." Ronald Mallone, Sybil Morrison, Derek Walker, John Loverseed, Bob Walsh, Pat Deighan, Albert Leaper. Fellowship Party.

#### Friday, October 9

**LONDON, N.12:** 8 p.m. Christchurch Hall, nr. Tally Ho Corner. Service of Rededication. Rev. P. Eastman, Sec. IFoR. Finchley FoR.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Caxton St. "Christianity and a New Social Order." Swami Avyaktananda. Vedanta Movement.

#### Saturday, October 10

**LEICESTER:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Queens Rd., "Work-camping in Ghana." Kofi Effrim-Botchey. IVS.

**YEOVIL:** 3 p.m. Liberal Hall (nr. Town Stn.) "Pacifist Fallacies." Douglas Clark. Western Area AGM (followed by auction). PPU.

#### Sunday, October 11

**LONDON, W.1:** 3 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Sybil Morrison, Myrtle Solomon. PPU.

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## ICA in Africa

The ICA has done splendid work in extending Co-operation in Asia. It has helped many of the African movements, though the African affiliations are only five: Egypt, Ghana, Eastern Nigeria, the Sudan and Mauritius. I hope the ICA association with Africa will grow and that African societies will increasingly join it. The ICA is one of the few international organisations which cannot be suspected of pulling political strings for either of the two giant blocs into which the world is divided!

The Co-operative movement is of tremendous importance for Africa. It can be made a great instrument for Africa's economic independence and democracy. It can save the people from exploitation and lift their whole standard of life. All who cherish African freedom and progress should work for its success.

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#### Monday, October 12

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Meeting. PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd., London Appellate Tribunal for CO's. Public admitted.

#### Tuesday, October 13

**SAFFRON WALDEN:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., High St. "Any Questions." Society of Friends.

#### Wednesday, October 14

**LONDON, N.W.11:** 7.45 p.m. 23 Russell Gdns. (Off Golders Green Rd. opp. La Sagesse Convent). "Current Events & Pacifism." Allan Skinner. PPU.

#### Thursday, October 15

**LONDON, N.13:** 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd. "My Trip to U.S.A." Hilda Klenze. PPU.

#### Friday, October 16 — Sunday, October 18

**RUGELEY, Staffs:** Week-end Conference: Spode Ho., Hawkesyard Priory. "Problems of Peace Today." Fee: 2 gns. Details: The Warden at above address.

#### Saturday, October 17

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 2.30 p.m. - 8 p.m. Film Viewing Session of new films for peace propaganda, also exhibition. Adm. 1s. 6d., tea 3s. (s.a.e. please) from Friends Peace Cttee. at above address, Sof.

#### Saturday, October 17 — Sunday, October 18

**DORKING, Surrey:** Autumn Conference at Beatrice Webb Ho., Holmbury St. Mary. "China, India & Co-Existence, & Peace & Security in Laos & Vietnam." Details: The General Sec., National Peace Council, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1. NPC.

#### Saturday, November 7 — Sunday, November 8

**MATLOCK, Derby:** "The Briars." Vegetarian Guest Ho., Crich. Conference — "Penal Practice in a Changing Society — Past, Present & Future." Speaker: Frank Dawtry. Details: Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Pk. Rd., Leicester. PPU.



# Gaitskell questioned on ND candidates

"IF Labour were in power, what action would be taken against the 70 Parliamentary members of the Labour Party if they endorse their verbal assurance of support for the aims of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament by their action in any debate or division; would you allow a free vote on the H-bomb issue?" Mr. Gaitskell was asked this question at an election meeting in Kings Lynn on Friday, Sept. 25.

Mr. Gaitskell evaded the question by telling the meeting that all candidates were pledged to accept and stand by party decisions, and that as they were members of a team with a common loyalty there was no danger of seven let alone 70 members bringing a future Labour Government down.

"This reinforces the importance of obtaining unequivocal assurances from the candidates that they are prepared not only to support unilateral nuclear disarmament in the next Parliament but to vote on this issue whatever the party whip may require," Dr. Nora Johns, a Kings Lynn reader, told Peace News after the meeting.

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## Russians may be more Christian

BISHOP OF LLANDAFF

From Peter Brown, Hereford.

DR. GLYN SIMON, Bishop of Llandaff, said at a Hereford nuclear disarmament rally on Friday last week that he believed historians would link the decline of the Christian church as an institution with its failure to make up its mind in its attitude to modern war.

The Lambeth Conference's declaration on nuclear war confirmed in most people's minds the bankruptcy of the Church of England's thinking on the subject.

The Church as it was at present constituted could give no clear guidance in the matter so it was thrown on the conscience of the individual.

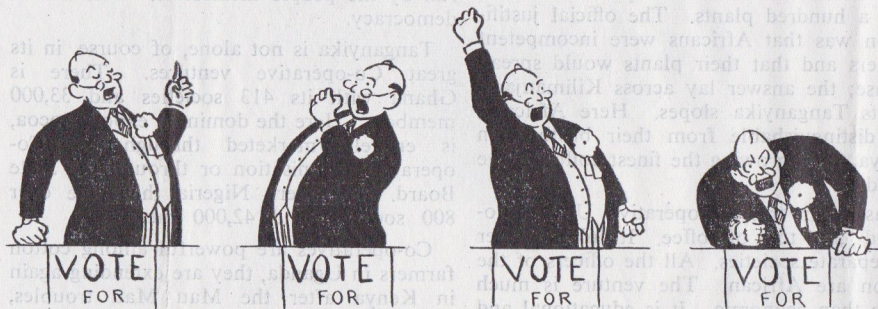
Those who opposed the concept of unilateralism should be asked to weigh very carefully two things, he added.

The first of these was the assertion that a Communist dominated world was the only alternative to nuclear war in the last resort and that this would be so dreadful that life would not be worth living.

Had they any right to conclude, he asked, that the rest of the world would make the same choice. To prefer the total extermination of the human race to a political doctrine which one hated was to be guilty of what Bertrand Russell had called "a ferocious fanaticism."

Secondly, he questioned the assumption that Communist domination would be the end of the story and would mean "that God had no more to say."

"There are still 38,000,000 people



And we will stop at nothing to ensure world peace... even if it means... GLOBAL WAR

## PPU nuclear disarmers meet

"THE PPU Bomb Disposal Squad" was the unofficial title adopted by a one-day conference of Peace Pledge Union members concerned with nuclear disarmament which met at Dick Sheppard House London, on Sunday.

Called at the invitation of the General Secretary, Stuart Morris, the conference under the Chairmanship of J. Allen Skinner, Chairman of PPU Executive and a member of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War—appointed a Committee to assist in co-ordinating the activities of PPU members working in CND and the DAC.

It was envisaged that their work would include the provision of banners and

## Hereford's Candidates quizzed

WITHOUT the help of an amplifier Hereford CND speakers have addressed crowds of more than a hundred at open-air meetings in the city centre. The Rev. R. J. Billington, local Methodist minister and pacifist, and Mr. E. R. Wood, Chairman of the local CND, secured a much quieter hearing than the candidates who followed them.

Among the questions put to candidates were:

1. Has this country ever before in history prepared for a war (a) in which there is no possibility of victory, and (b) no possible defence for the civilian population?

2. Can you give an instance in which you think use of the H-bomb would be

## WEST FIFE'S INDEPENDENT

By Alan Lovell

ONE of the best things that could come out of this election would be the return of a few independents with a genuinely radical policy to Parliament. The best hope of this is probably in Wales, where Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Party) has proved itself to be a real threat to the major parties.

But there is also hope that Scotland could give a political lead. That hope lies in the sprawling mining constituency of West Fife. There an independent radical socialist candidate, Lawrence Daly, is contesting the election.

A success for Daly would be a real blow against machine politics since he is opposed by three typical representatives of it.

The Labour candidate, Mr. W. Hamilton, has represented the constituency for the last nine years. He has a distinguished record. He is not a local man and is not often seen in West Fife. He has a record of unswerving devotion to the Labour leadership, having supported them on every issue from German rearmament to the H-bomb. His record on local affairs is not much better; he has opposed miners' wage claims and criticised tenants for resisting heavy rent increases.

### Machine men

The Conservative candidate is a good complement to Mr. Hamilton. He has no doubts about his party's record, H-bomb, Suez, Central Africa and all.

The third machine man is the Communist candidate, Mr. W. Lauchlan, a full-time Party worker. In 1945 West Fife was one of the few constituencies which returned a Communist to Parliament, and ever since 1950 the Communists have hoped to regain their seat. This time they have sent five of their full-time workers into the constituency. Mr. Lauchlan is campaigning on the full Communist Party programme. One of the new features of this is an attempt to jump on the Aldermaston band-waggon (though Mr. Lauchlan is careful to play down unilateralism in favour of summitry.)

Lawrence Daly is opposing these three as the representative of the Fife Socialist League, a local association. He has spent all his life in West Fife, is a miner, and an active trade unionist. In a local election in the constituency last year he was elected to the County Council with a large

alternative to nuclear war in the last resort and that this would be so dreadful that life would not be worth living.

Had they any right to conclude, he asked, that the rest of the world would make the same choice. To prefer the total extermination of the human race to a political doctrine which one hated was to be guilty of what Bertrand Russell had called "a ferocious fanaticism."

Secondly, he questioned the assumption that Communist domination would be the end of the story and would mean "that God had no more to say."

**"There are still 38,000,000 people attending Orthodox churches in Russia after nearly half a century of persecution. It is possible that their Christianity is far more real than that professed and practised by many in this country."**

"There is perhaps a higher percentage of practising Christians in Russia than in our own country."

"If we say that our Christian civilisation can only be defended by nuclear war, are we not saying that in the last resort material force is stronger than spiritual force and that nuclear weapons are stronger than the spirit of God?"

## GEORGE PADMORE

GEORGE PADMORE, political adviser to Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, died on September 23, aged 56.

A prolific author and contributor to Peace News, he devoted his whole life to the cause of African freedom. In 1945 he resuscitated the pan-African Congress, and since Ghana's independence helped to organise the 1958 conference of independent African States, the conference last May in Guinea with President Sekou-Touré and the recent conference in Liberia.

## GERARD HOFFNUNG

Gerard Hoffnung, artist, cartoonist, prison visitor, tuba player, broadcaster, humorist and Quaker, died on Monday, aged 34.

He appeared with his tuba quartet in the recent CND midnight show, "Stars in Our Eyes," at the Royal Festival Hall, and his own Festival Hall concerts, largely featuring the humour of strange musical instruments, were immensely successful.

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Called at the invitation of the General Secretary, Stuart Morris, the conference—under the Chairmanship of J. Allen Skinner, Chairman of PPU Executive and a member of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War—appointed a Committee to assist in co-ordinating the activities of PPU members working in CND and the DAC.

It was envisaged that their work would include the provision of banners and posters for PPU contingents in marches and demonstrations; preparation of leaflets and pamphlets dealing with unilateral nuclear disarmament and liaison with other committees.

A list is to be compiled of PPU members wishing to be kept in touch with the Committee. A Secretary to the Committee is to be appointed. Names and addresses should be sent, for the present, to Allen Skinner, PPU Headquarters, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## London film showing of H-protest voyage

IMPORTANT new films for peace workers will be shown at a Film Viewing Session to be held in Friends House, Euston Road, London, on October 17 from 2.30 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Among them are:

**No Place to Hide:** A film about the 1959 Aldermaston March and its meaning.

**The Forbidden Voyage of the Phoenix:** A film from America which shows how the Phoenix was sailed into the forbidden area of the Pacific in which an H-bomb test was to be carried out. The crew, who wished to make their protest against the testing of nuclear weapons, were arrested on the high seas and imprisoned.

**A Power Among Men:** Recently shown at the Edinburgh Film Festival, it poses the question as to whether the new power—nuclear power—will be used to annihilate or assist mankind.

**Bhoo-dan Yatra:** This film has not yet been seen in Britain; it is about Vinoba Bhave. Admission is by ticket 1s. 6d. (or 3s. inclusive of tea), obtainable from the Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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Among the questions put to candidates were:

1. Has this country ever before in history prepared for a war (a) in which there is no possibility of victory, and (b) no possible defence for the civilian population?

2. Can you give an instance in which you think use of the H-bomb would be justified?

3. By what arguments would you justify the bomb for Britain and deny it to other nations?

4. Are you willing to vote on this matter as your conscience and common sense tells you is right, even if it means disagreeing with your party's policy?

Copies of a full list of questions have been sent to the county's newspapers.

\* \* \*

**The Labour Party** have alleged that Conservative canvassers are telling workers at the Aldermaston atomic weapons plant (established by a Labour Government) that Labour's peace policy would put them out of work.

\* \* \*

**Walter Wolfgang**, one of the committee of five which organised the first Aldermaston March is contesting Croydon North. His election address carries a large map showing the effects of fall-out if H-bombs were dropped on Britain.

\* \* \*

"I am a very old member of the Labour Party," says Dame Sybil Thorndike to Ron Mallone, pacifist candidate contesting Woolwich West for the Fellowship Party. "I send my best wishes to your effort, as I think the principles you stand for are what I and many others of the Labour Party stand for also, and I think it is valuable to support them." Ron Mallone has appealed for more supporters to help him at his headquarters, 141 Woolacombe Road, S.E.3. Tel. LEE 6249.

\* \* \*

"A vote for Hyam is a vote against the Bomb" is the slogan of Sydney Hyam, Labour candidate for the marginal constituency of Bradford West, Yorkshire. House-size posters (one floodlit) carry the symbol of the mushroom cloud obliterated by an election cross against his name.

1950 the Communists have hoped to regain their seat. This time they have sent five of their full-time workers into the constituency. Mr. Lauchlan is campaigning on the full Communist Party programme. One of the new features of this is an attempt to jump on the Aldermaston band-waggon (though Mr. Lauchlan is careful to play down unilateralism in favour of summitry.)

Lawrence Daly is opposing these three as the representative of the Fife Socialist League, a local association. He has spent all his life in West Fife, is a miner, and an active trade unionist. In a local election in the constituency last year he was elected to the County Council with a large majority over the official Labour candidate.

Lawrence Daly's programme includes:

1. Britain should give a moral lead by giving up the H-bomb and getting rid of American bases in this country;

2. Freedom and independence for all colonial peoples;

3. Extended public ownership and a Parliament for Scotland;

4. New industries in West Fife to reduce dependence on the pits.

## Working people

Will Warren (whom the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War sent to West Fife to help Daly as election agent) reports that the campaign has so far been tough. Since Daly's supporters are nearly all working people they do not have a great deal of time to do election work which has to be crowded into their spare time. They have been helped by a variety of people from outside the constituency, including students and the editors of The New Reasoner.

Daly has been making unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb a central issue of all his election propaganda and speeches and has even taken time off from the election campaign to chair the first meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in West Fife.

"Things are getting hectic here," Will Warren told Peace News, "with smear campaigns, lack of halls, lack of money, lack of people, long hours (6:30 a.m. to midnight seems usual), but I am enjoying myself immensely and have a high regard for Lawrence and his tiny band of helpers. But I wish I could speak Scots."

Anybody who wishes to help strike a really radical blow against the machines and for a better world should contact Will Warren at 145, Kirkland Gardens, Ballingry, Fife.